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DESCRIPTORS- *SOCIOLOGY, *SOCIAL SCIENCES, CURRICULUM ENRICHMENT, *SOCIAL VALUES, SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, *SOCIAL STRUCTURE, SYSTEMS ANALYSIS, CULTURAL FACTORS, *SOCIOCULTURAL PATTERNS, SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION CONSORTIUM

THIS PAPER DISCUSSES THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY IN TERMS OF SIX ELEMENTS OR LEVELS--(1) VALUES, NORMS, AND BELIEFS, (2) SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, (3) ORGANIZATIONS, (4) GROUPS, (5) POSITIONS, AND (6) SOCIAL ROLES. THE AUTHOR STATES THAT TO SEE SOCIETY IN ITS TOTALITY IS TO SEE DOWN THESE LEVELS OF SOCIETY AND ACROSS EACH OF THE LEVELS, AND TO LOOK FOR THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE MANY PARTS. THE FIRST TWO LEVELS MAKE UP THE SOCIETY'S CULTURAL SYSTEM, AND THE OTHERS ARE ALL PART OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM. THE LEVELS ALL POINT TO THE PATTERNING THAT CAN BE FOUND IN HUMAN SOCIETIES. IN AN ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE WORKINGS OF SOCIETY, A FUNCTIONAL SYSTEM IS PRESENTED WHICH EMPHASIZES THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THE COMPONENT PARTS (LEVELS) THAT CONSTITUTE SOCIETY AND WHICH ALLOWS THE CONSIDERATION OF BOTH COHESIVE AND INTEGRATIVE FORCES IN SOCIETY, AS WELL AS THE PERSISTENT PROBLEMS AND SOURCES OF TENSION THAT ULTIMATELY TRANSFORM THE MAKEUP OF SOCIETY. THE BASIC INGREDIENT IN THIS VIEW OF SOCIETY IS THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL VALUES. VALUES "SEEP DOWN" TO SHAPE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND, ULTIMATELY, IMPINGE UPON THE INDIVIDUAL AS THEY SHAPE THE POSITIONS HE OCCUPIES AND MOLD THE ROLE RELATIONSHIPS IN WHICH HE BECOMES INVOLVED. THESE VALUES, HOWEVER, CAN ALSO BE SHAPED BY MAN AND SOCIETY. MEN MOLD THE POSITIONS THEY OCCUPY AND, ULTIMATELY, THE VALUE SYSTEMS OF THEIR SOCIETY. BOTH PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE OF SOCIAL FORMS ARE ACHIEVED BY THIS PROCESS OF MUTUAL INFLUENCE. THIS PAPER WAS WRITTEN AS PART OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION CONSORTIUM, A CURRICULUM PROJECT TO OUTLINE THE CONCEPTS, STRUCTURE, AND METHODS OF SEVERAL OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES FOR USE OF TEACHERS AND CURRICULUM WORKERS AT ALL ACADEMIC LEVELS. (JH)

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FOREWORD

Professor Perrucci's paper, Sociology, was written as part of a curriculum project supported by a developmental contract of the United States Office of Education, made with Purdue University for the Social Science Education Consortium. This project was directed by Lawrence Senesh, Professor of Economic Education at Purdue.

The purpose of the project was to outline the major concepts, structure and methods of several of the social sciences in a way that will be useful to persons concerned with either teaching or constructing new curriculum approaches and materials in which one or more social science disciplines has a prominent place. Papers similar to this one on sociology have been written for anthropology, economics, geography, and political science.

Professor Senesh's immediate concern was to construct a broad curriculum outline for Grades K-6. However, the materials on the disciplines should be useful to teachers and curriculum workers at all levels.

Irving Morrissett

March, 1966

SOCIOLOGY

Robert Perrucci
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Human societies have a "structure" of recurring relationships, between elements of the society, which exhibits both persistence and change. The agent of both persistence and change is man, whose individual and aggregative ideas and behaviors serve either to reinforce and perpetuate established ways of doing things, or to initiate--by design or unwilled consequences--new patterns of living.

Man is both a passive and an active agent in society, sometimes appearing to be little more than the carrier of a cultural tradition, and, at other times, the innovator of bold new ideas and forces. Both views, however, are an oversimplified version of man and society; they account for little of that reality which we call society. For society is found to abound with social forces which were not willed into existence, and man's behavior is found to modify social forces quite independently of his intentions. It is the task of sociology to seek an understanding of the laws governing man's social behavior, and in so doing to better understand the workings of society.

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

The patterning of life in human societies is remarkably orderly. The regularity with which man carries out his activities in the home, at work, and in the community suggests that man himself is a carrier of ideas about the various ways of ordering his activities. The fact that man's ideas are, to a certain extent, shared by others, and that man seeks support from, or is influenced by, the ideas and actions of other men, makes a large portion of man's behavior, social behavior.

A significant area of man's social life is based upon a set of expectations regarding the behavior of other persons. A man crossing the street with the light in his favor expects that the auto will stop. Drivers, in turn, do not expect that pedestrians will dart out in front of their autos. Guided by these complementary expectations, which are based upon more or less explicit rules, the attainment of the independent objectives of both drivers and pedestrians is possible. There are similar sets of expectations

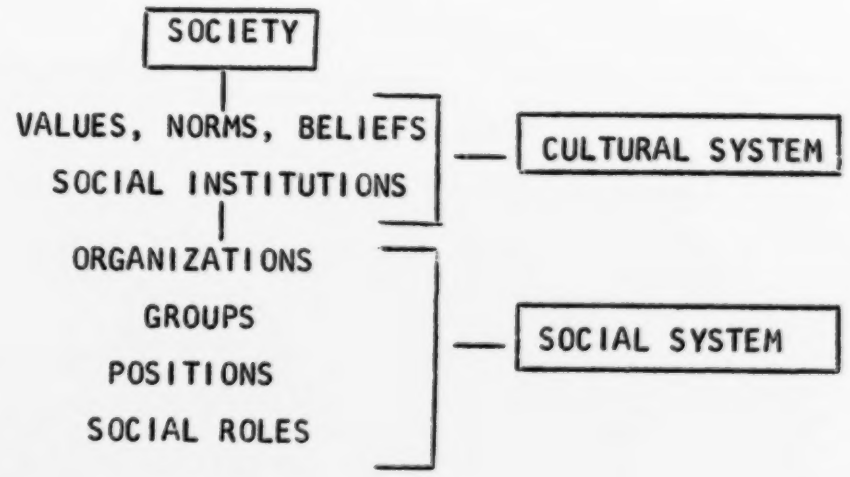
with respect to family members, co-workers, bosses, etc. It is the patterning of these expectations in certain areas of human activity that provides the basic orderliness of social life. The basic foundation for these expectations are found in the values and norms that are shared by members of a total society or a sub-group in that society. When these expectations are felt as binding for the individual personality (in terms of guiding his behavior) we speak of internalized values. When these expectations are more or less explicit statements of prescribed and proscribed patterns of behavior, with socially supported rewards and penalties, we speak of social norms. It is the social norm which connects one person to another in the patterned systems of social relationships.

Thus, the ways of thinking, feeling and acting of individuals can be said to be influenced by (1) the values and norms that are shared by members of a society, and (2) the networks of social relationships that locate persons and groups with respect to each other. These two areas of influence--values and norms and social relationships--are in reality inseparable. The behavior of an individual is a function of both the values and norms that the individual is exposed to, and the networks of relationships in which he is involved. The position that an individual occupies in a group, or the position of his membership group in the larger community or society, will expose him to certain patterns of social relationships with respect to other members of the group, or other groups in the community. These different positions will also expose him to different kinds of values and norms. In this way it is possible that any two or more individuals involved in a social relationship will be guided by shared views of the world, that is, similar values and norms, or non-shared views of the world.

We shall examine these two factors--social relationships and values-and-norms--more carefully. In order to do so, we will find it useful to agree upon a set of concepts referring to the elements or parts of society that we shall use repeatedly in this paper. These concepts will help us to look at the workings of human society from several different levels of understanding. For example, one may seek to understand the workings of society by looking at the day-to-day experiences of persons in the major spheres of everyday living, such as the home, the workplace, and leisure pursuits. One may also focus upon the larger social groups in which persons are involved, such as social classes,

ethnic communities, religious groups, and examine the relationships among these groups. Finally, an understanding of human society may be gained by looking at the broader historical and institutional forces that shape the form and content of the lower order groupings in which individuals are implicated.

These concepts will also allow us to be a little more specific in isolating the kinds of factors we believe are involved in the patterning of social life. Looking at the different elements of society we will attempt to demonstrate how each of these elements can be seen as having a "telescope" effect, in that each part is implicated in the more inclusive level. In the diagram below, we have the several elements of society listed.



The first and broadest level of concern is that of "Values, Norms and Beliefs." Here we are concerned with the things that people invest emotional interest in--things they want, desire, consider as important, desire to become, and enjoy. This level includes statements regarding modes of behavior that are the "oughts" and "shoulds" in different contexts; and it includes systems of ideas that serve the purpose of explaining the occurrence and non-occurrence of events in the natural world and the supernatural world.

But values and norms and beliefs are not simply discrete and unrelated elements affecting the lives of people who share them. Values and norms tend to interact, and they tend to take some area of human activity as their point of reference. When this clustering occurs, values and norms become socially meaningful in that they define the structure of behavior in specific situations. These collections of ideas for specified areas of human activity make up the fundamental "Social Institutions," or as one sociologist has put it, a map or

a blueprint for living. Thus, we have norms which refer to the conditions under which individuals may engaged in socially approved sexual relationships, raise children, engaged in courtship practices, and the like; the norms concerned with these matters constitute the family institution. There are norms concerned with those activities dealing with the production and distribution of goods--economic institution; norms concerned with the allocation of power and authority--political institution; norms dealing with the formal training of the young so as to insure continuity of the system and insure that certain tasks are performed by persons with the necessary skills--educational institution; and norms concerned with activities about "sacred things," objects of non-empirical ideas and intense moral respect--religious institution. We should keep clearly in mind that when we speak of institutions, we are speaking of collections of ideas concerning behavior. These ideas may be expressed in formally written codes, such as laws, or they may be expressed in the unwritten codes of tradition.

When the values and norms in any of the institutional areas become translated into specifically stated goals, and when the attainment of these goals requires the coordinated activities of a number of people, we speak of "Organizations." These organizations are the concrete manifestations of the underlying social institutions. The writ of these organizations and their claim to legitimacy, rests upon the values of the larger society. When a factory, as an economic organization, turns out a product that no longer appeals to the market to which it is directed (we are loosely using material products here as a reflection of an underlying value), the organization must create a new market, turn out a new product that appeals to the "values" of a prospective market, or pass out of existence. Similarly, when an organization has a product which is clearly a social value, this product must correspond to a value in the environment that is to support the organization. For example, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has virtually disappeared (relative to its earlier strength) due to the absence of any significant "market" for the values that were being espoused by the organization. In a similar fashion we can find the remains of many religious, educational, and political organizations that have either transformed themselves in response to changing values in the environment, or have disappeared completely.

However, the attainment of a specifically stated goal is not the only

reason for which individuals come together in common activity. Common interests, common values, and emotional identifications form the basis for many ongoing patterns of social relationships; in such cases we speak of "Groups." These groups, built upon the intimate ties of its members, are generally of the informal variety, serving the varied needs of the persons that constitute the groups; in addition, persons involved in groups tend to be involved as total personalities rather than as persons who perform activities which are a small portion of the total range of elements that constitute the self or personality. Such groups are best exemplified by the family and friendship groups. These groups do not seek to attain a specific goal, or to meet some need of the larger society (which was the case when we spoke of organizations); their continued existence depends upon the satisfaction of the needs of the members of the group. It should be clear, however, that we do not wish to create an artificial difference between organizations and groups. Within organizations, we find groups; and the very reason for this is due to the different basis upon which these two types of social phenomena are formed. The organization, as a special purpose collectivity is guided by considerations of goal attainment; the guiding norms and values may be efficiency, rationality, and impersonality. In the absence of any major efforts devoted to satisfying needs for warmth, response, or recognition, we find groups emerging to satisfy these needs. Thus, groups may be formed in an organization that are built upon values that are consistent with the values that are already inherent in the organization. Here we would find the mergence of close personal relationships among members of a particular work group. On the other hand, groups may emerge which are built upon values which are extraneous to the organization, and which may in fact conflict with activities designed to attain the organizational goals. An example here would be the development of close personal ties among workers of a similar religious or ethnic composition which would enhance their ability to work together, but impair their ability to work with others.

However, organizations and groups are not simply haphazard collections of individuals and activities designed to attain specific goals or to satisfy individual needs. They tend to exhibit orderly and persistent patterns by which goals are achieved and needs satisfied. This orderliness is the result of the internal structure of the organization or the group. Internal structure

consists of all those activities which must be carried out if the organization or group is to attain its formally stated or informal objectives. The required and necessary activities are attached to positions in the group. In an organization, these positions include that of foreman, manager, lathe operator, accountant, and the like.

Thus, both organizations and groups contain a designation of positions which specify the activities for persons occupying the positions. People learn what is expected of them, and are exposed to the expectations others have of them, when they assume certain positions. Expectations are, therefore, not diffuse things, but tend to be attached to certain positions. When the positions are filled, the expectations are activated and applied to the occupant of the position. This process aids movement into positions by enabling persons to anticipate the requirements that will be imposed upon them for positions they will fill through the orderly transition of the life cycle (e.g., children who will eventually fill the positions of father and mother). In organizations these positions are formally designated and persons are specifically recruited to fill the positions. In groups without a formally designated purpose we find positions evolving more or less "naturally" in the satisfaction of the group's needs and the needs of the individual members, e.g., the emergence of leadership positions.

The fact that any social structure or system of social relationships can be described in terms of the positions that constitute the structure does not explain the actual behavior of persons who occupy the same positions. All mothers or fathers, for example, do not behave in the same way. Despite the similarity of the positions, there is considerable variability in the manner in which persons in the same positions behave. To understand the actual behavior of persons in positions we need to understand the idea of the "Social Role."

When a person occupies a position, either a formal one as in an organization or an informal one as in a family or friendship group, he brings to this position his own values, attitudes, personality characteristics, and life experiences. What is brought to the position by the individual becomes one source of variation in how a person interprets the position he occupies and how <u>he</u> thinks he ought to behave. However, when a person occupies a position he is brought into a new set of relationships with persons in po-

sitions that are in some way related to his own. The person who occupies the position of "foreman" is brought into a set of pre-existing relationships with the positions of "worker," "manager," "shop steward," and so on. The position of foreman would make little sense without the other positions with which it is affiliated. Together these positions make up the social structure of an industrial plant, and they provide a preliminary mapping of social relationships in the plant. This new complex of positions that are related to the original position in question, is the second source of variation in how a person behaves when he fills a certain position. This variation stems from the fact that there are a number of persons who have expectations concerning how a person should behave in a certain position. With these multiple expectations we have differing and sometimes incompatible demands made upon the occupant of a position, who must in turn adapt to these expectations. These two sources of variation make up the social role of a person in a particular position.

These six elements, or parts, of society--values and norms, social institutions, organizations, groups, positions, social roles--all point to the patterning that can be found in human societies. This patterning can occur at the level of social roles, which is the main element of the social self of an individual, or at the level of social institutions, which is the broadest level of society in which man is implicated. But to point out that patterning of ideas and behavior does occur in these six areas is not to show how this patterning takes place. Given the very great diversity of values, groups and organizations, one can reasonably ask how it is possible to even speak of orderliness and patterns. There are, of course, countless personal and social values and modes of behavior; the organizations which reflect these diverse and often conflicting values also exist in great numbers; the number of informal groupings and the myriad positions and roles that are contained in these groups, is enough to stagger the imagination. This proliferation of values, or groups, or roles, does not develop unchecked, however. The fact that each element of society is implicated within a higher order level automatically imposes limitations on the extent and direction of development at any particular level. We can advance our understanding of patterns and order if we examine the nature of the constraints that one element of society imposes upon another element; the interrelationship of elements is an important con-

sideration at this point. If, however, we choose to focus upon the wide divergences in values or interests or organizations at one particular level, our main concern will be to understand the existence of institutional, intergroup, interpersonal, and intrapersonal tensions.

In order to seek the kind of understanding of the workings of society suggested above, we will need a view of society which emphasizes the interrelationship of the component parts that constitute a society. This will allow us to consider both the cohesive and integrative forces in society, as well as the persistent problems and sources of tension that ultimately transform the society in which we live. In the next section, we will present such a view of society; that of a system of interrelated parts which contribute to the tensions and stabilities of any society.

SOCIETY AS A FUNCTIONAL SYSTEM

Sociologists have often found it instructive in understanding the workings of social systems to draw upon the analogy of biological and mechanical systems. Each of these systems can be understood by examining the parts of the system and the way in which the parts are interrelated. In the biological system, for example, the operation of the heart can be examined in terms of the other parts of the organism that are related to the heart. The heart performs an activity that has certain consequences for other parts of the body. These consequences may affect other parts of the organism positively or negatively. When the consequences are positive we mean that there is a good "fit" between the parts of the system in question. As a result there will be a tendency for the nature of the relationship between the units to remain more or less stable. When the consequences are negative we mean that there is a poor "fit" between the units in question. The result is the development of certain "tensions" that produce pressures for change.

In looking at society as a functional system we start with a view of a complex whole of interrelated and interacting parts. But what exactly are these parts, and what is the nature of the relationship between them? Earlier we spoke of six conceptual levels of society: norms and values, social institutions, organizations, groups, positions, and social roles. These six levels may be taken as the initial parts of society which provide us with some of the basic tools for understanding the regularity of human society. However, <u>within</u>

each level we have different parts which compose that level and which, in turn, may be examined from the point of view of their interrelationship. For example, the level of social institution is composed of the different institutional areas we outlined earlier, such as religious institution and economic institution. The organization and operation of any one institution may be understood in terms of its relationship to other institutions. When the "fit" is good the institutional forms will persist in a relatively stable manner. When there are tensions, some sort of adjustment between the two areas is necessary. We should keep in mind that in this discussion of institutional interrelationships we have assumed that the institutions in question are of the same importance in the society, and thus any tensions between the institutions will be worked out by a process of mutual adjustment. However, the importance of any institution must be measured by the extent to which the values of the institution and the organizations and groups which become infused with these values are of crucial significance to the general population. Given this definition of importance it is reasonable to assume that all of the institutions in a society do not stand in an equal relation with each other. Dominant institutions will be more likely to force the adaptation of less important institutions to their own patterns. Examples of this situation can be seen from the middle ages, when the religious institution shaped the patterns of life in the family, the arts, politics, education, work, etc. Similar patterns may be observed in societies where the kinship or family system is the key to economic life, political life, and so on. Modern industrial societies are often so complex that domination by a single institution is not very likely to occur. However, there are some organizations and groups that are more powerful than others in the shaping of societal goals and decisions.

At a lower level of conceptual analysis we could focus upon the interrelationship between the multiple expectations with which a person occupying a position is faced. As John Smith occupies the position of supervisor, or father, he is subjected to the expectations of persons who are brought into contact with him by virtue of occupying a position which is intimately related to the position of supervisor or father. These expectations may be supportive of each other, thereby making the behavior of John Smith relatively clear and unproblematic. However, if he is subjected to conflicting expectations, he

must somehow reconcile them to the satisfaction of himself and the persons who are relevant to the situation.

It should be clear that the mode of understanding we are employing will remain the same regardless of the particular social phenomena we are trying to understand. At one time, we may attempt to understand any particular social or cultural phenomena--such as a particular value, or the behavior of an individual or group, or the changing form of a social institution--in terms of its relationship to other phenomena at the same conceptual level; that is, to other values, institutions, or groups, respectively. At another time, we may look for the impact of a phenomena upon events at a different conceptual level; for example, the effect of a change in basic values upon relationships among groups. The particular parts of our functional system that we hold up for examination will vary with the problem under consideration. Again, we can see how the procedure we are outlining can be effectively used to isolate both the supportive parts of any society, and the sources of tension between those parts. The sources of problems in any society can be understood within this general framework, even though the particular form in which the problem is expressed will vary in different cultural contexts.

In the following section, we shall try to demonstrate the utility of the framework we have outlined above for understanding society. Four separate facets of sociological analysis will be presented. Within each we hope to outline the manner in which we can search out particular problems found in American society.

FACET I. VALUES AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS*

Most known societies exhibit patterned behavior in areas of activity that roughly correspond to the five institutional areas of family, economy, polity, education, and religion. The exact form which these institutions take will vary by societies, and will be determined by the value systems of the society. An understanding of the relationship between the values of a society and its approved and required patterns of behavior will allow us to understand the seemingly strange patterns of life in foreign lands and the more familiar patterns in our own country. In this section we will examine a number of dis-

*This section has made extensive use of Robin Williams, American Society, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

tinct value patterns found in American society, and we shall attempt to understand the role played by these value patterns in shaping different social institutions. The specific value systems outlined in this section are not meant to be exhaustive in any way; the diversity of values in American society make any neat classification impossible. Instead, value systems are selected that are easily related to the social institutions in the society. In this fashion we hope to demonstrate the utility of this facet of sociology for the development of curriculum materials.

Values are elements of human experience that are invested with great emotional meaning for people. For society, particularly society as we have described it, values represent the main source of "energy" in the operation of the component parts of that society. It is the energy which shapes the form of the main social institutions of the society. It is also the energy that provides the motivational bases for the behavior of individuals in a wide variety of social contexts. Thus while values become the very forces which shape the various social formations such as organizations and groups and their constituent positions and roles, they are also transformed when they themselves become translated into the means and goals of human activity. It is the mutual process of values shaping social formations and social formations shaping values that gives society its dynamic and adaptive features. It is also the very same process which allows us to identify various dislocations in a society. This, however, takes us ahead of our story; our concern here is with the manner in which values shape the social institutions.

The various prescribed, preferred and proscribed patterns of behavior found in a society are the concrete manifestations of underlying value patterns. This means that there can be found in most human societies a tendency to develop social customs, laws, and social norms that are more or less consistent with underlying values. Thus, social norms and customs are not identical with values; they are more specific than the values upon which the norms are erected. The same value, such as individualism, may find expression through different social norms in several institutions. While values continue to have meaning for persons, the patterns of living, or social institutions, that are built upon the values will also tend to persist.

Before turning to the actual value systems that we shall try to relate to the social institutions, let us first consider the general procedures used to

determine just what the values are in any society. This should enable use of this particular facet of sociology for the study of values other than those mentioned in this section. Since values are statements dealing with the desirable, they concern ghe goals or ends of action, as well as the standards by which these ends of action are selected. In addition, values govern the selection of means which are necessary for the attainment of ends. Thus, values may be derived from the choice behavior of persons. When a person puts a high value on something, it implies that he is willing to make sacrifices and forego other gratifications for the attainment of the desired end. In this fashion, the preferences in patterns of consumption among certain families can be used as indirect evidence of the value priorities of that family. The values of a total society may also be isolated by looking at the manner in which both public and private monies are expended. The value of education for either a family or a society can be estimated by the proportion of its resources that it allocates to education as compared to other things.

Another manner in which the dominant values of a society may be estimated is to examine the things to which people in the society seem to devote a great deal of their time and energy. Does religion, or art, or literature, or work, occupy the main energies of the society? When value choices are juxtaposed, as, for example, in the realm of occupational choices for the youth of the society, which choices tend to receive the greatest public support? What areas of life are associated with the culture heroes of the society; are they religious, military, industrial, or simply leisure heroes?

A final way in which values may be estimated is to look at the behavior that is most highly rewarded and praised, as well as the behavior that is highly disapproved and punished. The highest rewards, such as prestige, power and money, and severest punishments, such as imprisonment or public disapproval, are usually the best indicators of when the most cherished values are being upheld or challenged. With these things in mind, let us now discuss some of the major value patterns found in American society, and the manner in which they shape social institutions.

Achievement and Success

The American emphasis upon achievement and success may be observed in the oft-repeated Horatio Alger success story. Here we find emphasis on the "log

cabin to president" ideology which is exemplified in personal achievements of persons in the occupational world. It is not simply that the hard working, thrifty, virtuous person is looked up to for achieving success, but rather that all persons are specifically required to be achievement- and success-oriented. The pressures for success are so overwhelming that the person who is not successful suffers from the disapproval of his fellow men as well as personal doubts concerning his own worth.

Education

Closely tied to the value of achievement and success is the importance of education in the hierarchy of values. The emphasis here is upon the manner in which formal education plays an important part in the likelihood that a person will be successful in the occupational sphere. It should be kept in mind that the education value is primarily practical. The value is not upon education as an end in itself, but as a means for the attainment of the success goals. Education is the great "equalizer," providing equal opportunities for getting ahead regardless of any liabilities of origin. This "means-oriented" view of education places stress upon those aspects of education that are concerned with getting things done, and with devising the technically efficient means for attaining practical and useful tends.

Material Comfort

Great emphasis is placed upon a high level of living in American life. The importance of consumption behavior, and styles and patterns of consumption, play an important part in American patterns of living. The consumption orientation, as exemplified in the so-called idols of consumption that have emerged in American culture, is also closely related to the measures of success used in our society.

Judaic Christian Morality

Among the essential elements here is the belief in a single God who is responsible for the creation of a moral order that is the responsibility of men to follow. This moral tradition attempts to see events in the world in good or bad, right or wrong, ethical or unethical terms. This tradition also

includes a belief in the brotherhood of man, which is accompanied by humanitarian activities directed to aid the less fortunate.

Equality

The essence of the American value of equality is the idea that while men may not necessarily be born equal, they should all have the same opportunity to acquire wealth, power, and prestige. Equality of opportunity stresses the idea that those with the training and talent necessary to fill certain high positions will be selected for these positions without any weight being given to their station at birth. Another essential ingredient of the value of equality is the desire to see social relationships as democratic; those in positions of power and authority should not act as if they have this power and authority. A belief that "I'm as good as the next man" permeates formal authority relationships.

Freedom

This value, which may be closely identified with the stress on "individualism," seems to imply that individuals should be relatively free to make the choices and decisions they wish to make. This ability to pursue one's own ends in an unrestrained fashion often finds its expression in economic activities under the name of "private enterprise." However, it should be clear that the precise meaning of the value of freedom is not shared by all segments of the population. For some, it is a conception of man pursuing his own economic self-interest free of all governmental interference, the function of the government being the protection of private property, and the support of contracts and economic exchanges. Another view of freedom is the more recent emphasis upon equality as an essential ingredient to the maintenance of freedom. This view maintains that the freedom of the wealthy and the racially prejudiced to act in a manner which limits the freedom of others is not an element of individual freedom that should be protected. The lack of consensus on the meaning of freedom, and of other values, will be considered in the section dealing with the resolution of conflicting values.

Science and Rationality

The main stress of the values of science and rationality is concerned with the ways in which events in the empirical world are interpreted. These interpretations take place by a mode of thought identified as the empirical-logical method, that seeks to order and explain events in the external world. In addition to science and rationality being a way of looking at the world, it is also a way of controlling the world. Applied science as a tool for controlling nature is a highly esteemed activity. We are said to be an engineering culture, and this emphasis is reflected in a concern with the application of rational empirical methods to mastery of the environment. The applied component of science and rationality also carries with it a concern with getting things done by the most technically efficient means available, on things that have a specific "use." Thus, there is the possibility of a conflict not only with other values, but also with the possible conflicting tendencies that are found within the ethos of science.

Group Superiority Themes

The essence of this value is the tendency to ascribe privilege and differential treatment to individuals on the basis of their race or group membership. Racist doctrines of the biological superiority or inferiority of different groups is the main example of this value theme.

These, then, are some of the value themes found in American society. The main concern at this level of sociological analysis is to demonstrate how an understanding of the main value themes in American life can help us to understand the "way of life" of the American people--to understand its family patterns, its political life, its system of education. In addition, an understanding of, and a focus upon, values can help us to make sense of some of the broader historical shifts that have occurred in American social patterns. Let us examine some of the broad questions concerning American society that this particular facet of sociological analysis illuminates.

We have indicated that one of the most important aspects of value systems is the role they play in shaping social institutions. The important question is simply how values influence the form of human behavior in different areas of social life. For example, what does it mean to say that Americans hold the idea of individualism very dearly? Even if this is true, we must demonstrate

the social significance of this value in terms of how it effects behavior. The part that value systems play in shaping social institutions can be examined by taking the values of "achievement and success" and "education" and relating them to patterns of activity in different areas of life. Let us look at the effect of these values upon economic activities and upon the structure of the American family.

The emphasis upon goals that bring worldly success, and the direct encouragement to actively pursue these goals, has left a significant mark upon certain aspects of the American family. With worldly achievements, especially in the occupational sphere, being highly valued, there has been pressure upon male children in our society to "reach" and to "aspire" to things that are beyond their original station in life. This has led to reduction in the degree of father-son occupational inheritance, and the development of disparities in the social and economic levels of different generations of the same family.

A complement to the value on achievement is the value on education, which is the main means by which achievement goals are attained. The important aspect of education, as far as its impact on the family is concerned, is that training, or the attainment of necessary skills, is carried out in a setting that is apart and independent of the family. This has the result of reducing the dependence of male children upon their families for assignment to a position in the status hierarchy of the larger society.

These two values combined have had the effect in American society of reducing the significance of the family that one is born into, as compared to the family that one starts. The elements of this reduced significance include less control of the family over the important life choices of offspring, limited contact between families of different generations, and increased physical and social distance between family members.

In contrast, we may look at other cultures where the stress on the family tends to encourage the maintenance of the family, and the continuity of social, economic, and occupational life. Under these conditions, the family-related values tend to be more influential than achievement values which are independent of, or potentially disruptive of, the cohesiveness of multiple family units.

Thus, in this first facet of sociological analysis we have examined the manner in which more or less enduring patterns of social life in American society may be seen from the point of view of values and social institutions.

The same procedures for understanding may also be applied to patterns of life in other societies which may be markedly different from our own.

FACET II. INSTITUTIONAL INTERRELATEDNESS

In the preceding section, we outlined some of the dominant value patterns that are found in American society. These value patterns shape behavior in a number of areas of human activity. We can observe, however, that neither the value patterns, nor the behavior patterns that result from the values, are in any sense totally harmonious or compatible with one another. The values of "freedom" and "equality," or "equality" and "group superiority," require patterns of thought and behavior which give rise to problems. Given these contradictory and sometimes conflicting values and patterns of behavior, one may ask a simple question about the assumption with which we started this paper: How is society possible with internally conflicting social institutions? How do we get the orderliness and predictability that we suggested characterized any human society?

There are no easy answers to these questions. But we may begin to indicate the processes at work that have the effect of mitigating potentially disruptive forces, and of incorporating and "benefitting" from social conflict. Thus, we wish to emphasize the "natural" forces in a society which operate to maintain a certain degree of internal equilibrium, while at the same time being true to the overwhelming fact that a large part of the viability of any society is its adaptation to internal conflict. It is difficult to make a quantitative statement concerning "how much" conflict is "too much" or to make a statement about whether a society has been transformed for the better. Such statements would require criteria of evaluation and is not, at this point, of particular relevance to the question under consideration.

One of the more obvious forces operating to offset strain in a society is the simple fact that there exists a considerable degree of consensus on some value patterns, as well as broad areas of supporting patterns of behavior in the various institutional areas. Added to this is the fact that many areas of potentially conflicting ideas and behaviors are isolated from each other. For example, traditional religious morality is kept apart from the activities of the economic world. This does not mean that these two institutional

areas have no influence upon each other; it simply means that the occasion for contact between the two areas is limited, as well as the fact that the degree of functional interrelatedness of the two areas is also limited.

A second factor which mitigates conflict and provides some of the ties that hold society together is the degree of functional interrelatedness that exists between different sectors of society. This idea may be grasped by viewing each institutional area as yielding an "output" and requiring an "input" to continue its own operations. Illustrations of this input-output model are as follows: Economic activities require inputs in the form of persons with certain motivations for work and the desire to undertake prolonged training to fill the many positions in our labor force. The output of the family is to provide persons who have these necessary qualities. The output of the economic institution is to provide wages, and goods and services for the family. Whether an input-output model of this type is a good fit to the actual relations between institutions in the real world depends upon the extent to which the institutions are interdependent rather than autonomous. Certain aspects of institutional activity are more intimately connected than other parts; the identification of these connections is essential for the understanding of how the functional interdependencies can help to mitigate some of the strains that will arise due to conflicting and incompatible values. The more that two institutional areas "need" each other, the more likely that there will be both occasions for conflict and pressures for adaptations.

A third consideration of the manner in which contradictory or conflicting values or behavior coexist in the same society is the simple fact that societies and their constituent institutions do change. Such changes range from the gradual and almost imperceptible adjustments of ideas and behavior in different areas of life, to the clear-cut and relatively rapid but planned changes, to the sweeping and often unplanned transformations of the entire social fabric of a society. Conflicting values play a part in each of these patterns of social change. The existence of such conflicts is often one of the strongest features of a society. In such cases, conflicts serve to illuminate the flaws and seek to eliminate them before they result in drastic and violent changes. It is only when there is a suppression of the "natural" processes whereby value conflicts are resolved that the more drastic solutions

tend to come to the fore. All social revolutions have been preceded by the many small signs of discontent and conflict of values which went unheeded, and in which these small value conflicts were resolved by the domination of one group by another.

Social institutions and the values they represent are continually being reinforced, maintained, changed or destroyed by the shifting patterns of human thought and action. Our concern here with the interconnections of social institutions is an attempt to understand the manner in which changes in one area of life or social institution will bring about changes in another area. Incompatible or contradictory values will set forces in motion which will tend to reconcile the differences by "forcing" an adaptation of one institution to another. Thus, the economic institution cannot strongly encourage economic activities if religious institutions maintain a theology of anti-wealth and anti-economic activities. A society cannot long tolerate these opposing values in the same arenas of life, nor can individuals in the society long maintain the two conflicting cognitions with respect to economic life. Similarly, a family system which emphasizes family ties and occupational inheritance would be somewhat incompatible with the "requirements" of the economic institution for mobility and occupational selection according to market criteria. Value conflicts of this type may be resolved through the orderly or drastic processes discussed above. However, it should be kept in mind that the resolution of a conflict does not lead to the absence of conflict; such states are found only in utopias. Each solution to a value conflict results in the creation of another conflict. Such features are the main characteristics of dynamic and viable societies.

The ideas concerning institutional interrelations contained in this second facet of sociological analysis may be better understood if we apply them in three problem settings. First, we may examine some of the broad historical shifts in values and behavior that take place in any society. Second, we may take a more static view by focusing upon the city or community to discern the interconnections between institutional areas. And third, we can attempt to understand the problems that exist in the area of planned changes; in particular, we might focus upon the question of introducing new technology in underdeveloped areas. Let us briefly look at the possibilities for application in these three areas.

The coexistence of contradictory values, and acts that reflect these values, will set up certain "strains" in human affairs. These strains can become the point of departure in understanding changing modes of thought and activity in a society. Let us examine for the moment the shifts in values and behavior that have occurred in American society: a shift from extended family identifications and ties to nuclear family identifications and ties; a shift from a patriarchal family structure to a democratic family structure; and a shift from an emphasis upon individualism to an emphasis upon external conformity and "group over the individual" themes.

An understanding of these changes can be aided by looking for the changes that took place in other areas of life, and which had some impact upon the value and behavior areas mentioned. Economic life went through a major transformation which undoubtedly had its effects upon family life, authority relationships in the family, and the relationship between the individual and the group. Some of these transformations included the separation of the worker from the means of production, the growth of the factory system, the concentration of workers in relatively small spatial areas, the emergence of large scale industrial and governmental bureaucracies, and the development of independent institutions (independent from the family) for the training and education necessary to fill positions in the occupational world. Each of these changes in patterns of economic activity may be traced to the shifts in values and behavior that were described above. This same procedure may be applied to an understanding of the shift from "old" rural values of thrift, hard work and puritan morality, to the emergent values of hedonistic-consumption behavior, leisure, and relativistic moral attitudes.

In the second problem area we will use the community or the city as the setting for our analysis. Our main interest is in delineating the main institutional areas in the community, in terms of their representations in concrete organizations or groups, and exploring the relationships between these areas in terms of the input-output model. Depending upon the level of analysis that we wish to pursue, we may examine some of the intended and anticipated relationships between institutional areas, or we may explore the unintended and unanticipated relationships between the areas. For example, educational organizations have the specific purpose of educating the young and preparing them to take their place in the community. These are among the

intents and purposes of the organizations. However, there are numerous less obvious effects of educational organizations which tend to occur in addition to the planned and anticipated effects. For example, depending upon how an educational system is organized, such a system can either be the main mechanism for mobility and equal opportunities in a society; or, alternatively, the educational system may have the unanticipated consequence of maintaining and reinforcing existing class relationships, and the perpetuation of power, prestige, and income differentials.

The last setting in which this facet of analysis could be applied is in the understanding of the consequences of introducing new technology in underdeveloped areas. Here we could start with an examination of the main values of a society and their relationships to the social institutions. This would be the task we outlined under Facet I above. Once there is some understanding of the society, we can begin to trace through the consequences of any particular new idea, or new pattern of activity, or new technology, upon the existing institutional arrangements. In order to think through the multiplicity of consequences that may flow from the introduction of a new culture item or trait, we may ask a number of questions designed to uncover the facts necessary for the solution of the problem of planned change. This focus upon planned change is certainly not restricted to underdeveloped areas; the same framework might be used to trace through the possible consequences of any planned change in a community setting.

Let us assume that we wish to understand some of the possible consequences of introducing a new item of technology like a tractor or a harvester, or a new social invention like the reorganization of land tenure, upon the existing institutional structure of a community.* Some of the questions we would ask concerning the effects of this new trait are as follows: What, if anything, will the introduced trait replace? Who in the society will have to abandon or change their occupations? Who in the society will benefit immediately from the change? Will the benefits be in terms of economic advantage, increased prestige, or what? What are the formal and informal organizations and groups in which those affected participate? What will be the effect upon the power or social position of these organizations? What customs, habits,

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*For good case materials on the problems associated with introducing technology in other cultures, see Edward H. Spicer, ed., Human Problems in Technological Change (Russell Sage Foundation, 1952).

values, etc. will be affected by the change? This list could, of course, be developed at length in any number of directions. This would depend upon the nature of the change that is being considered and the nature of the system in which the change will take place.

FACET III. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Up to this point we have spoken of the manner in which values shape social institutions and the manner in which the different social institutions influence and shape each other. In so doing, we examined the mutually supportive aspects of different institutions as well as the pressures and tensions for change which are created by contradictory values. It should be clear, however, that the strains and tensions, and the subsequent social changes, are in reality to be found in the behavior of individuals located in a variety of group contexts. Thus, when we spoke of the input-output model of institutional interrelations, the output of any institutional area is in reality the behavior of individuals in organizations and groups concerned with activities that are at the core of the institution in question. But how is it that the behavior of individuals in a wide variety of group settings is found to be in accord with the values at the heart of the social institutions? Certainly individuals do not consciously order their lives in order to meet the requirements of the institutional areas. When then does the orderliness of institutional patterns find its main source of support? It has been suggested that the answer to this question requires an examination of the goals of human behavior that lie between the large scale "needs" of the social institutions and the personal experiences of each individual. These intermediate goals are viewed as being sufficiently salient to motivate persons, and at the same time, to cumulatively lead to the satisfaction of institutional inputs. The question of just how individuals are motivated to behave in ways which are consistent with the "needs" of the social institutions, and the question of how the behavior of individuals is both the agent of persistence and change of social institutions, is at the heart of this facet of sociological analysis.

In this section we will discuss how these intermediate goals are transmitted and supported in the day-to-day activities of persons in the society.

There are three main aspects to this particular relationship between the individual and the social institutions. First, we shall discuss the general area of socialization as the process by which the ends and means of human behavior are transmitted. Second, will be a look at the interpersonal mechanisms which support or undercut the continued attention to the culturally transmitted means and ends of human action. And, finally, the question of the nature of man's ties to the world about him will be examined. In each of these areas the main concern will be to illustrate the manner in which the same set of processes may make contributions both to the persistence and to the change of institutional forms.

A noted socioiogist once commented that each generation faces the threat that it will be overcome by a wave of barbarians. These barbarians are, of course, the new generation of children--those who as yet are unfamiliar with the patterns of living of the society into which they are born. The relative persistence of a wide variety of patterns of living depends upon the extent to which the ideas behind these patterns can be transmitted to the new generation. The process by which the existing ideas and patterns of living are transmitted is known as socialization.

Socielization may be understood by looking at the agents who are responsible for the process, and inquiring whether the process itself is a formal or informal one. In the early years of a child's life, socialization is carried out by the family, within the context of close, personal relationships. The process at this stage is also an informal one; that is, it is not a conscious, deliberate attempt to transmit some specified cultural content to the child. The non-specific nature of the process, combined with the emotional nature of the relationship, probably accounts for the very effectiveness of the socialization process. In late childhood and adolescence the agents of socialization become part of the formal process best exemplified by the school systems. In addition, the informal processes are now carried out within the context of a variety of peer groups.

While the process of socialization effectively transmits certain social and cultural patterns over generations, we also know that it is far from a perfect process. In fact, if it were perfect there would never be any social change; each new member of a society would be a mirror image of the culture into which he was born. Departures from the perfect pattern of cultural

transmission are usually the result of different agents of socialization to which one is exposed, and of differences in the generations of the agents of socialization and the recipients of the transmitted culture. For example, an individual may not be exposed to the same values and norms from his peer groups as he received from his family group. This discrepancy, and the need for some sort of reconciliation of conflicting values and norms, will lead to the emergence of new patterns. An additional source of imperfection in socialization is social changes that result in outmoded and changing values and patterns of behavior. Many of these changes produce generational problems which are the result of rapid changes that transform patterns of behavior faster than the normative prescriptions for behavior are changed. In this way we have normative patterns being transmitted which do not exactly "fit" the new behavior patterns. Many parent-child conflicts are the result of the markedly changing social conditions which create barriers to common meanings, shared pressures and shared views of the world.

Thus, it is through the processes of socialization that we obtain the initial basis for instilling the values and goals of human behavior that are in accord with the various social institutions. At the same time, it is also through the socialization process that institutional conflicts, pressures, and strains are transmitted to each succeeding generation. It is in this fashion that we may observe the same process to be at work in providing for both continuity and change within any society.

As we have discussed socialization, however, it is simply the general process by which values and patterns of living are transmitted. But what determines which patterns of living and values are transmitted? The possibilities are manifold, but these possibilities are limited by the fact that exposure to various aspects of one's culture is dependent upon the positions that a person occupies in a society, and upon the role relationships in which a person becomes involved. The multiple positions that a person occupies and the multiple roles that he plays permit selective socialization to take place while bringing about behavior substantially in accordance with the existing culture. But the position-role complexes in which a person becomes involved have other functions besides aiding socialization and effecting compliance. They are also the channels whereby the individual has some measure of influence upon the organizations and groups in which he operates, and ultimately

upon the various social institutions.

In focusing upon the individual in the different social institutions, then, we may examine the ways in which the individual shapes and modifies the positions he occupies in various institutional areas, and, in turn, the ways in which his positions and roles shape the individual. Starting with the individual, we can observe that each person occupies positions in each of the institutional areas. A man is a father, a boss, a church member, etc. His activities in each of these areas are the various roles that he plays. The performance of these roles brings him into contact with others playing reciprocal roles, and in this fashion some measure of conformity with positional requirements (or prescriptions) is guaranteed. Let us take the case of any two persons interacting together on a more or less consistent basis and in a situation that is commonly found in society and is not idiosyncratic to the pair in question. Such situations include husband-wife interaction, foreman-worker interaction, and friendship relationships. If Smith and Jones are the pair in question, we will assume that the behavior of Smith cannot depart too radically from the expectations Jones has of him, as such departues would impair the ability of Jones to perform his own role effectively. One sociologist, Talcott Parsons, maintained that when two persons are satisfying each other's mutual expectations, a state of "role complementarity" exists; a state of interaction which is held to be inherently stable and which leads to the persistence of the relationship in its present form.

The basis for the expectations that each person has of the other in any pair relationship are a part of the positions that they occupy. Of course, in a situation where new positions, and, therefore, new social relationships, come into being, the "ground rules" for the new relationships have to be established. Thus, the concepts of position and role, combined with the mechanism of role complementarity, provide us with a means for understanding how the socialization process operates, and how conformity with existing social prescriptions is achieved. This, then, is a partial answer to the question of how individuals are motivated to behave in ways which meet the "needs" of the social institutions.

We may also use the concepts of position and role to unravel the forces at work which lead to deviance from established patterns of expectations, and which become the means whereby individuals influence social institutions and

initiate social change. First, there may be an incompatibility between the personality of the individual and the requirements of the position. Even the most rigorous procedures for selecting individuals to fill particular positions will leave many discrepancies between the requirements of the position and the desires and capabilities of the individual. These discrepancies may result in either an individual's ability to play a role in a certain fashion or his desire to modify the role. Whether the changes that a role occupant undertakes become established depends upon the response of others to the new role behavior. Thus, the response of others will determine whether the previously established role is reinforced or a new role pattern emerges.

A second source of variation in role relationships that can lead to transformations of the activities attached to positions is to be found in the fact that a person occupying a position may be subjected to a number of conflicting expectations regarding how he is to behave. These conflicting expectations can be considered quite apart from the person's own interpretation of his position, and will subject the occupant of the position to different sets of demands that will have to be reconciled. When they are not reconciled to the satisfaction of <u>all</u> the persons holding these expectations, then new problems emerge regarding who has been satisfied and who has not. A timely example here would be the case of the scientist who is employed in a large-scale bureaucratic setting. On the one hand, his scientific role encourages him to work on projects that may be of interest to him as a contribution to basic knowledge. On the other hand, the need of the organization that employs him is to encourage work in areas that will result in knowledge of some practical and commercial significance to the firm. The requirements of both the organizational role and the scientific role are quite understandable from the point of view of the different values upon which the requirements are erected. However, if the scientist continues to need the organization as a setting in which to use his special talents, and if the organization continues to need the scientists to satisfy the demands of the market, then we can expect some mutual adjustments to come into play. Such adjustments will serve to redefine the requirements of both the role of the scientist and the role of the organization member.

A third force that may change role relationships is the fact that a person may have to reconcile the conflicting demands of a number of positions that he

holds. Whereas the preceding problem was interpersonal, and required the "juggling" of the expectations others had of how a person in a single position should behave, this problem is primarily intrapersonal, in that the individual has to somehow adjust to playing a variety of parts in a variety of plays. The expectations for being a good father may conflict with the expectations for being a good provider or a good worker. Similarly, the pressures for success in economic pursuits may prompt behavior that is incompatible with the morality of a particular religious persuasion.

Aside from these interpersonal and intrapersonal sources of deviance from established norms, we may also question Parsons' position, indicated, regarding the inherent stability of a relationship under conditions of "role complementarity." A recent essay by Alvin Gouldner has specifically pointed to the potential for instability in role relationships characterized by complementarity. The argument runs something like this: If two persons, A and B, are both behaving in ways which are consistent with each other's expectations--that is, that A does something that B rewards him for, and B does something that A rewards him for--then we may assume, as does Parsons, that both A and B will continue to give forth the same behaviors. Gouldner suggests, however, that something of an "inflationary spiral" can occur regarding the behavior that either A or B exhibits. For example, A might feel that since the behavior of B is so predictable it is unnecessary to continue to reward B (under conditions where rewarding B means incurring a cost for A). Once B's behavior is taken for granted by A, A is likely to devalue the behavior of B and, thereby, reward him less. This, in turn, will influence B to explore new patterns of behavior in the hope of getting the same reward that he had once received from A. It is under these conditions that the allegedly stable pattern of complementarity can actually contain the elements of its own instability.

Most of the above discussion in this facet of sociological analysis has dealt with the forces at work which result in individual conformity which established patterns of behavior (and, hence, change of existing institutions), and the forces which result in deviation from the established patterns of behavior (and, hence, change of existing institutions). It should be clearly understood, however, that the forces that make for conformity and for deviance do not necessarily operate to achieve some overall stable state of affairs wherein the "fit" among the various parts of a society (e.g., values, institut-

ions, groups, organizations, etc.) are in some kind of perfect harmony. In this sense, there is never a state of equilibrium in any society. Internal harmony of a system is impossible, given the multiplicity of social values, personal goals and desires, conflicting and competing collectivities, and the imperfections of socialization.

In addition, the relationship between any system and its environment (the natural and physical environment, or other societies) is characterized by shifting patterns of adjustment and subsequent social changes. This condition of non-equilibrium characterizes the relationship between an individual and his environment as well as between a society and its environment. It is precisely because of these imperfections, because of the continual and irreducible states of tension, and because the system does not "work," in the sense of providing nirvana for the individual and utopia for the society, that this final aspect of the relationship between the individual and the social institutions is of such importance. Here we are concerned with the question of why man continues to play his part in a game which works so imperfectly. It is a question of the nature of man's psychological, philosophical, and social ties to the world about him. In this sense it is more than the feeling of sharing a common core of cherished values from which man seems to draw some strength; it is more a question of the impact of these values upon his inner self, that part of his being which gives meaning to his life. In other times, such meanings were gained from the dominant religious bodies which provided more readily understood and accepted explanations for being. Modern man has become much too self-conscious to accept such easy explanations.

Current concerns with the nature of man's "relatedness" are found in the expressions dealing with modern man's predicament. He is often described as "alienated," as experiencing "self-estrangement," as being "disenchanted" with the world. This predicament of meaning in which modern man allegedly finds himself may be classified into three general areas of human activity: man's conception of himself; the meaning of man's work; and the meaning of man's relationships with his fellow men. It is no accident that these three areas should receive all this attention, for it is in these same areas that some of the most pronounced social changes have taken place in the last century. These changes include the trend toward greater specialization in the world of work, where man no longer sees the fruits of his labor. Under the assumption

that man derives some of his most important satisfactions and self-respect from his work, these changes have created a void in an area of man's life to which he devotes a considerable amount of his time and energy.

Other changes include the relative decline in personal, community-type relationships between individuals, and an increase in impersonal relationships. This trend has occurred in the work settings, with the growth of large-scale organizations, and in the continued growth of large urban centers. Along with these changes has been the decline in importance of the extended family, a traditional source of support and satisfaction for man.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the evidence concerning man's alienation is at best inconclusive; it has not been clearly shown that modern man is any more alienated than his predecessors in a pre-industrial pre-urban age. While the changes in man's working conditions, his living conditions, and his family life have undoubtedly been pronounced, the effect of these changes has not been well established.

FACET IV. SOCIAL PROCESSES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Up to this point, we have examined the manner in which values shape social institutions, the relationship among the social institutions, and the place of the individual in the larger society. In each case we were able to examine the patterns of stability and change of existing social forms and values. In this section we shall be concerned with the manner in which value conflicts are at the basis of social problems, and how such conflicts are often acted out in relationships among groups who support different values.

Earlier in the paper it was pointed out that the values underlying any institutional area are not unitary in nature. The same social institution may be guided by several value themes which are incompatible or conflicting. In addition, the same value will not be considered of equal importance by different individuals, by different aggregates of persons, and by different groups.

Among the reasons that values are differentially distributed in a society, both by importance and type, is that persons who share similar life experiences tend to develop more or less similar views of the world about them, while persons with different life experiences are likely to develop different values. Individual interests often find their expression in a group

context which becomes the basis for many conflicts of interests among groups in society.

The differential distribution of values and norms, among individuals and groups, provides the potential for problematic relationships among individuals and groups. Values, being of an emotionally charged nature, resist transformation; individuals and groups will defend the values that they cherish most. Most so-called social problems reflect basic value disagreements, either in the definition of a problem or in the solution of a problem.

These potential differences among individuals and groups may occur in any of the social institutions. There are religious differences, power differentials, income and prestige differences, and variations in the emphasis upon family and kinship ties. The resolution of conflict among groups is often accomplished through the basic social processes of competition, conflict, accomodation, and cooperation.

When individuals or groups seek to attain certain goals which are being pursued by a number of individuals or groups, and the interaction among these groups tends to take place with the framework of an acknowledged set of rules, the process is known as <u>competition</u>. In competition, if one group attains the goal, the other groups are automatically denied a chance to share in the goal. When individuals or groups seek to either deny other individuals or groups the <u>opportunity</u> to compete for desired goals, or they seek to eliminate the opposition, then we speak of <u>conflict</u>. Unlike competition, the only rules governing conflict relationships are efficiency rules. That is, any and all means may be used to attain the desired end. This should not be construed to mean that conflict has only negative consequences. Conflict may have such positive consequences as helping to establish group identities and group solidarity; it may lead to the creation of social norms where none existed previously; it may modify existing norms to make them more acceptable; and it may lead to readjustment of power relations by influencing antagonisitic groups and persons to undertake cooperative activities.

When two or more persons or groups undertake agreed-upon activities for the attainment of a commonly shared goal we speak of <u>cooperation</u>. These cooperative activities tend to take place under conditions whereby the attainment of certain goals cannot be accomplished without combining the contributions of a number of individuals and groups.

The fourth social process consists of the case when one party of a conflicting relationship makes a concession to the other which thereby lessens or eliminates the conflict. This is accomplished at the expense of one of the parties, and is known as accomodation.

In cases where two groups share a particular goal, and at the same time both have access to the means necessary to attain the goal, there is little basis for the groups in question to confront each other with some basic disagreement. This relatively simple and non-problematic case of goal attainment is only found in abundance in utopias. The more realistic condition from the point of view of intergroup processes is where the goals or ends of action are not necessarily shared, and where there are differences in a group's access to the means for attaining desired ends. The pronounced differences we find among various segments of our society on such issues as medicare, civil rights, poverty, unemployment, and disarmament sometimes reflect basic disagreements on whether a problem really exists in any of these areas; or, if there is agreement upon the existence of a problem, differences may arise over the way to handle the problem.

The description given above of the four basic group processes says little about the conditions under which groups will confront each other. Whether groups are in conflict or cooperation depends upon whether they have certain goals in common, and whether the opportunities available to them to attain goals are viewed as just and legitimate. The following table is a general outline of the relationship between goals, means, and group processes.

Differential Access to
Means is Viewed As:

	Legitimate	Non-Legitimate
Shared Goals	Cooperation	Competition-Conflict
Non-Shared Goals	Accomodation	

On the vertical dimension of the table is an indication of whether the groups in question share or do not share some hypothetical goal. On the

horizontal dimension is an indication of whether or not the groups in question accept the existing condition of differential access to means as just (legitimate) or unjust (non-legitimate). We are assuming there will always be differential access to every desired goal; the question is whether this condition is accepted as just and right.

In the preceding table, cooperation is a condition whereby persons or groups accept their relative advantage or disadvantage, in attaining some shared goal, as just. A caste system in which all wish to attain some spiritual state, but where the differential ability to achieve this state is itself couched in moral terms, is a good example of this condition. A society in which spiritual salvation, for example, was the shared goal, but where one's present condition in the society was viewed as symptomatic of differential states of "grace" would also fit into this category.

A shared goal in which differential access to the goal is not regarded as legitimate may result in conditions which range from competition to conflict. Current examples which fit this category are the anti-segregation movements against unequal treatment in a variety of areas of living. Both the pro-integrationists and the pro-segregationists may share the same goals of equality and freedom. However, they differ sharply on the manner in which these goals are to be achieved, and at whose expense. It is difficult to say just when a situation will result in competition or conflict. This will probably depend upon the extent of the split over the means used to achieve goals. If we order on a scale the Negro civil rights groups, we find that the various points on the continuum from competition to conflict may be approximated. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the best example of the competitive approach to this condition of non-legitimate access to means for goal attainment. Much of their activity to redress the unjust aspects of the system take place through established legal channels. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee represents a more activistic posture toward correcting unjust conditions in which it may engage in "civil disobedience" rather than work primarily through the courts. Finally, at the conflict end of the continuum we may place the Black Muslim movement which holds open conflict to be one of the means that the American Negro may use to correct the inequities of the system. It is debatable, however, whether the Muslims can be viewed as sharing the same

goal as the groups they are aligned against.

The category in which goals are not shared but where differential access to the respective goals is legitimate provides a number of empirical possibilities. The different forms of accomodation which are resolutions to this condition of non-shared goals ranges from the situation where both groups in question manage to continue to pursue their separate goals, to the condition where the adjustment that one of the groups makes is in effect an adjustment of its original goals. The first possibility is where the goals of the two groups are conflicting, for instance, more security for wage earners versus bigger profits for the entrepreneurs, but where a single legitimizing framework exists. Labor-management disputes, for example, are usually carried out within the "agreed upon" institutional structure of collective bargaining. Many attempts to solve labor-management problems have been efforts to move these disputes out of this box (legitimized non-shared goals) into the shared goal box. Profit sharing plans have been precisely of this variety.

A second solution of the accomodation variety is where the different goals for which groups strive do not come into conflict because the groups are kept quite apart from each other. This is often called "cultural pluralism" or the coexistence of cultural sub-groups. Certain religious groups such as the Amish furnish examples of this in the United States.

A final solution, which is really a move into the category of shared goals and legitimate differential access, is one where the non-shared goals become shared by virtue of a change on the part of one of the groups. For example, if the Amish in the above example were to "take on" the general way of life (including the goals, of course) of the dominant system, this would be a form of accomodation generally known as assimilation.

The final category, which appears to be an "empty box," is that of non-shared goals and non-legitimate access to them. This is a condition of chaos, and by the definitions and assumption underlying our framework (namely, the search for pattern and order) this represents a pre-societal state. It may be suggested by way of speculation that this box is an example of the "original state of nature" and the "war of all against all."

The approach to the relations among person and groups expressed at this level of sociological analysis may be applied to a number of areas of interest.

The discussion of so-called social problems, as they emerge at a community level or a national level, may be viewed as starting from a basic disagreement between groups as to whether a problem exists, and if it does, what are the means by which a solution is to be achieved. And achieving solutions is, by no means, the end of the game. Each solution, by its very nature, poses a new set of problems for other persons and groups.

Concluding Remarks

We have tried in this paper, working with a limited set of concepts, to present an outline of sociology. Although much of what has been presented has been done with broad strokes, they present the fundamental categories and concerns of our discipline. The general structure that has been presented consists of six different levels of society: values, social institutions, organizations, groups, positions, and social roles. At any particular level we find great diversity--of values, organizations, groups, etc. To see society in its totality is to see down these levels of society and across each of the levels, and to look for the nature of the relationships among the many parts.

The most basic ingredient in this particular view of society has been the level of social values. Values are the energy, or the life blood, of the system. Values "seep down" to shape the social institutions; they become the raison d'etre for organizations and groups; and their relative "spread" becomes the basis for quite diverse human groupings. Ultimately, these values impinge upon the individual as they shape the positions he occupies in various groups, and mold the role relationships in which persons become involved. As values shape the structure of society, so do they become the meaningful ideas about which men organize their lives, about which they fight and die to preserve the status quo or to change it. It is the element which sets man apart from any other species of living organism.

Yet as these values impinge upon men and shape their society, so are they shaped by men and society. Men feel the "pinch" of the society in which they live; and as they feel this pinch they seek to modify the conditions of their existence. Men mold the positions they occupy, the groups and organizations in which they spend their lives, and ultimately the value systems of their society. Both persistence and change of social forms is achieved by this process of mutual influence.

END

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